1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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When Nunda was ill (during my visit) her husband was a model of affectionate concern, and Kokala, Pulong, and all the other women of her clan looked after her. She recovered.

Tsangamor was born in the hamlet of Onel. Before her first menses she chewed the sterility leaves which an older woman gave her. She said that after chewing the leaves her stomach "dried up," and that she therefore could not have children.

She had no sexual relations before her first menses, and when they occurred there was the usual feast. But she did not marry at this time. Instead she had many lovers in the bush. She lived with one man from Tabar for some time, and he gave her four *tsera*. Finally he went back to Tabar. Her other lovers gave her one *tsera* each time she went to the bush with them. As she had no husband, she kept all the *tsera* for herself, and acquired a basket full of currency. As far as I can make out, her lack of a husband was due to her not wishing one.

Then later she deemed it wise to have a husband. Her value as a potential wife had in no way diminished because of her previous lovers. She now married Landow, with whom she had no sexual intercourse before the marriage rites. He made the usual payment of five *tsera*, pigs, and gifts of fish and bananas to her mother and two sisters, and also as was customary worked in her mother's garden. This marriage took place about a year or two after her menses. Landow came from the hamlet of Panat, and after his marriage lived in his wife's hamlet, Onel.

This marriage lasted for about three years, when Murrow from the village of Langania came along and took her away from Landow. Tsangamor told her husband that she did not like him any more, and that she did like Murrow. Landow was not cross, and said, "All right, you go." Murrow now

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159 a very young child. She then went to live with a grown-up brother and his wife.

159 At the appearance of her first menses there were the cus-
836 tomary rites, but she did not follow the usual rule of marrying directly afterwards. Instead she went to the bush with a lover, who gave her one *tsera*. Then she had another lover, with whom she went to the bush three times. Her third lover was Lumis, with whom she went to the bush four times and then married. She was pregnant before she married him, and later her child was born. A few years after this she and her husband went to Rabaul to work for the white man, and there Lumis died.

159 Kawitti stayed on at Rabaul, working for the white man,
837 and during this time she had intercourse with many native men and one white man.[1]

After three or four years she came back to Lesu and had Lungas as her lover. They were married, and he gave the marriage payment to her clan relatives.

159 Kawitti said that she did not eat the sterility or abortive leaves because she was afraid. She had heard of one woman who died after eating the sterility leaves. She occasionally missed her menstrual period for two "moons," but it always "came up" on the third moon. She has had one child, a son, now married. She says that in the past she enjoyed copulating very much, but that now she is old and does not care for it.

She was still able to work in the garden, and did so, although suffering from a disease giving her leg pains, which diminished her activity at certain times. She was of a rather pleasant and very talkative disposition. She died unexpectedly while I was at Lesu.

Pulong had the traditional childhood, during which her

[1] When I asked her if she enjoyed her sexual relationship with the white man, her only answer was that he paid her "plenty."

4: Powdermaker 5-6 (1929-1930)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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127 census are compared whenever possible to the results of this genealogical study of a smaller unit of the same people, for the purpose of checking the accuracy of the latter study.

ETHNOLOGICAL FACTS

105 Before presenting the tables it is pertinent to give a few ethnological facts related to the statistics. This group of Melanesians are an agricultural, matrilineal and matrilocal people, with exogamous moieties subdivided into clans. There is no scarcity of land, which is communally owned, and getting sufficient food is not difficult, although it requires a certain amount of industry. The diet is limited, taro being the staple food. This is supplemented by fish, pigs, yams, bananas, pawpaws, coconuts, etc.

582 Sexual customs have an important bearing on the statistics. A girl is usually married directly after her first menstruation. A man's preferred mate is the mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or the father's sister's daughter's daughter, and he is thus of a generation above his wife. While the preferred marriage quite frequently does not take place, the husband is almost always older than his wife, usually a difference of about five to ten years. The girl has had no sexual intercourse, although she has indulged in sexual play, but the man, being some years past puberty, has had sexual experience previous to the time of his marriage. There are no unmarried women. There may be a couple of young widows in the community, but it is just a question of time before they remarry. Both husband and wife have extra-marital intercourse and there is no social stigma in having lovers or mistresses. Rather, it is the correct thing to do. The husband of the mother is always the sociological father of her children. Until very recently it was quite usual for a man to have two wives and this had been the case with most of the married men of my community. It was relatively rare for a woman to have two husbands, although it did and still does happen occasionally. Missions have taught a monogamous system of marriage, with partial success. Polygamy still exists, but not to the same degree or extent as it did a generation ago. White contact has scarcely affected extra-marital intercourse. Should the village be close to a mission center (mine was not) love affairs would simply be carried on more surreptitiously,

836 [587] 837 [851] 595 797 [595] [837]